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## THE SACRIFICIAL ELEMENT IN HOPI WORSHIP.

IN his well-known work in which he discusses the evolution of primitive culture, Dr. E. B. Tylor devotes one of the closing chapters to rites and ceremonies. In order to show how intimate the lower phases of religions are with the higher, from an ethnographic standpoint, this profound scholar has selected groups of religious rites, all of which "have early place and rudimentary meaning in savage culture, all belong to barbaric ages, all have their representatives within the limits of modern Christendom." These elements are "prayer, sacrifice, fasting, and other methods of artificial ecstasy, orientation, lustration." The writer, believing there is no better test of a theory than to indicate its weakness or strength when applied to special instances, not employed in its support or construction, has sought in the following pages to show that certain components of Tusayan rites are corroborative of the general theoretical views on rites and ceremonies advanced by Tylor in the work above quoted, and from these ceremonies has chosen sacrifice, an essential element of all worship, in its special application to a comparatively unmodified cluster of American Indians.

In none of the variants of sacrifice among primitive men, which have been adduced by others, has attention been drawn to instances where this element takes exactly the same form as in the Tusayan ritual; yet notwithstanding this fact, the place which sacrifice occupies in the Hopi system, and the relation which this variant bears to prayer, are apparently similar to those which others have indicated. The feeling known as worship, which in races of advanced culture has come to be restricted to man's attitude towards divinized beings, can hardly be said to have a like limitation in the thoughts of primitive man. In fact, among a people whose supernatural beings are anthropomorphic, the human and superhuman elements grade imperceptibly one into another, and we could hardly expect difference in treatment. So-called gods, with anthropomorphic personalities, are naturally treated as men of transcendent powers, and powerful men are revered as gods. The line of demarcation is difficult to discover. A youth needs but to don a mask in a sacred dance, and he becomes a god; a king among peoples not wholly barbarous is regarded a god, and approached as if he were such. Ceremonial worship began not in acts distinctly limited to supernaturals, but as an application of the mode of man's dealing with other men to the method of influencing anthropomorphic creations.

When the Spaniards discovered the Tusayan Indians, in the mid-

dle of the sixteenth century, the essential features of their religion had developed, although it is probable that several components of their composite ritual have been added since that time. The legends of this people distinctly state that each cluster of families, now called a pueblo, is formed by composition, or has resulted from a drifting together of families or larger groups, each of which contributed certain ceremonials. In that way the ritual became composite; a mosaic of rites, one or more portions of which were added by incoming families.

The general character of each of these additions was similar, but each was, in a sense, distinct or a unit. The resultant union of these components was, therefore, a congeries of small family religions of the same general character.

Let us isolate one of these families to discover the religious character of one of the component units.

The accepted belief in each cluster is that the family originated from an ancestral pair, son and daughter of the sky god, and earth, not created by a fiat of a Great Spirit, but born from the womb of earth, as infants are born, or as animals are generated. These two ancestors are the cultus hero and his wife, from whom members of that family are supposed to be descended. They became tutelary or totemic personalities (gods), and in reverence for them rites and ceremonies developed, patterned on the same type as secular acts of respect to elders. Spirits of the ancients still live somewhere; and as elders are esteemed, these deceased beings are revered or worshipped. They are regarded as members of the clan, and are represented by effigy or symbol in festivals. Early religion, in short, was not differentiated from that regard for elders which results from paternal or maternal family government.

As these several families consolidated, each component preserved its own patriarchal system, and thus we find them to-day, existing side by side, each family jealously preserving from knowledge of others its secret rites, and equally unwilling to intrude on those of other families. In its structure, therefore, the present Hopi ritual may be regarded as an aggregation of several family rituals, just as the pueblo is populated by inhabitants of several phratries, formerly separated.

As the families bringing these characteristic rites came to Tusayan from different directions, naturally there is a variation in their character. This is likewise seen in the composite Hopi language, which has words akin to many distinct forms of speech in the Southwest. Certain families, as the Water House, and Squash, came from the far south, bringing the cult of the Plumed Serpent, and many words of Nahuatl roots; others from the east brought kinships to eastern peoples, and so on.

Sacrifice, as an element of worship, is a familiar one with the Tusayan Indians, and even offerings of human beings, should occasion demand, were formerly not alien to their thoughts. Happily, however, with this gentle people those sanguinary offerings, so common in Mexico among Aztecs, have no place in the present ritual, and survive only in legends. One of the best known instances in pueblo verbal records of human sacrifices is that which recounts how to appease an angry god who flooded the ancient world, a child of the chief was thrown into the angry waters, which immediately subsided. If we may trust other tales, the same idea of human sacrifice, very much modified, may give an explanation of certain repulsive acts reported to have taken place during early wars with Apaches and Utes, when in warrior celebrations of victory captives were sacrificed. The idea of a chief offering himself as a person to be sacrificed for his people was, I believe, the dominant one in the mind of the Oraibi chief, a few years ago, when the United States troops arrested their leading men. In 1892 I witnessed in the pueblo of Sitcomovi a Katcina dance, during which a dog was brought into the plaza by the Clown Priests, and brutally killed in the presence of the spectators. At that time one of their number personified Masauûh, a God of Death, and as he smeared himself with the blood, it occurred to me that this might be an unusual sacrifice to this dreaded being.

While I have heard from the priests no direct statement to that effect, it has always seemed to me that the treatment of rabbits subsequently to their death in rabbit hunts may be interpreted as a somewhat modified survival of animal sacrifices. One of the most obscure rites among the Moki Indians is the burial of those eagles which have furnished them with plumes for ceremonial purposes. I know the cleft in the rock where the carcasses of such birds are placed, and have seen the prayer offerings in it, but am in doubt whether this Tusayan variant of the "Burial of the Wren" is an example of animal sacrifice or not.<sup>1</sup>

But animal sacrifice, or the offering of life, is unusual, and when it does occur is highly modified. The Hopi are an agricultural folk, and their offerings to the gods are such as a people of this caste of mind would naturally make. Living in an environment where there is little game, and being not preëminently warriors, they derive their food from the soil, not by chase or predatory forays upon their

<sup>1</sup> There is archæological evidence of the sacrifice of birds, especially the turkey, in some of the older Arizona ruins. It has been suggested that the almost universal use of the feather on pueblo prayer-sticks may be in some way connected with sacrifices of birds, but the almost universal adoption of feathers in ceremonial usages among widely different peoples calls for a more general explanation.

neighbors. They therefore offer to their gods that which they most highly prize. Using the familiar simile, that in the infancy of religious ideas man probably approached his supernatural beings as their anthropomorphic nature implied, or with much the same spirit as he would treat men more powerful than himself, I suppose he made use of the same methods in both instances. He asked what he wished, and placed before the god his gift as an offering or a symbol of homage. The request when addressing a supernatural being we call prayer; his offering we know as a sacrifice. In its early form there was nothing exceptional in this course of action, nothing out of harmony with the simple intercourse of man with man. The anthropomorphic conceptions which we call gods were to the primitive men simply more powerful human beings, with perhaps zoöomorphic or other characteristics.

I have shown in a previous article that those supernatural beings, called by us gods, are represented by the Hopi in three ways: by living men, women, or children; by graven images, and by symbolic pictures. On comparative study it will be found that these methods could be well illustrated by samples chosen from widely different geographical localities among people in this lower stage of culture.

This threefold mode of personification is illustrated in those instances where the god is sacrificed, and in Central American and Mexican rituals we have documentary evidence to show that the first two, and probably the third, were adopted. We have women and children dressed as gods, and then sacrificed, in several rites; and in at least one ceremony dough images are treated in the same way. These sanguinary sacrifices are too horrible to describe, and I will mention but a few to show the use, among the Aztecs, of the first method of personification, in sacrifice. In the month Hueitenzilhuitl, according to Serna, they sacrificed a woman, who personated Xilome,<sup>1</sup> Goddess of Corn; in Tecuilhuitontli, a girl representing Huitzotuhuatl, Goddess of Salt; and in Ochpanitzli a woman who represented Toci, or grandmother Tetcoīnam, mother of the gods, and in Teotleco they killed the robust youth who personified the god who came to the village in this festival of the return of the gods. But in the festival Tepeilhuitl they adopted the second or less sanguinary method, and sacrificed effigies of wood covered with dough with human faces in memory of those they worshipped.

In one of the legends of the Patki people there is an account of the offering of a youth and a maid to Palūlūkoñ, the Great Plumed Serpent, who had flooded the earth. "The elders consulted, and then selected the handsomest youth and fairest maid, and arrayed them

<sup>1</sup> Suggestively like to Hopi gods and goddesses are these beings of the Aztec Pantheon, the Goddess of Corn, Salt, Mother of Gods, War God.

in their finest apparel, the youth with a white kilt and paroquet plume, and the maid with a fine blue tunic and white mantle. These children wept and besought their parents not to send them to Palülüköñ, but an old chief said, 'You must go; do not be afraid; I will guide you.' And he led them toward the village court, and stood at the edge of the water, but sent the children wading in toward Palülüköñ, and when they reached the centre of the court, when Palülüköñ was the deity, the children disappeared. The water then rushed down, and from this cavity a great mound of dark rock protruded. This rock mound was glossy and of all colors; it was beautiful, and, as I have been told, it still remains there." <sup>1</sup>

The personification of the god by any of the three methods enumerated gives us a somewhat different idea of the character of idolatry as ordinarily considered. It seems to me that we have been too ready to apply the theory that images used by primitive or even somewhat advanced men in their cultus are regarded by them as gods, and too prone to overlook the testimony which they themselves might furnish bearing on this point. On interrogating many so-called idolatrous persons, we may find that they believe a supernatural being resides in an image, but as many others regard these images as simple symbols. Travellers are accustomed to consider that the simple existence of images necessarily means idolatry without questioning those who use them in regard to their belief concerning them, and it is a significant fact that the deeper we penetrate into this subject the less evidence we find that the idol itself is worshipped. The recognition that the image represents or is symbolic of a supernatural being has naturally led to the theory that the god temporarily or permanently resides in the figurine. This explanation is not open to objection as a theory, but may well be challenged if it is claimed to be the belief of all peoples who use images in worship, and certainly is not supported by evidences drawn from the statements of primitive worshippers. There are probably all shades of opinion among the Hopi in regard to the nature of their idols, and while the thinking men regard them as symbols, and reverence them for their antiquity, others believe that the supernatural being which the image personifies may temporarily inhabit the idol. The use of images in worship is in itself no sign of low culture, and is unknown among some of the most degraded races of men. Tylor well says: "Idolatry does not seem to come in uniformly among the highest savages; it belongs, for instance, fully to the Society Islanders, but not to the Tongans and Fijians. Among higher nations its presence or absence does not necessarily agree

<sup>1</sup> *Thirteenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 188.

with particular national affinities or levels of culture — compare the idol-hating Parsi, or the idolatrous Phœnician, with his ethnic kinsman the Israelite, among whose people the incidental relapse into the proscribed image-worship was a memory of disgrace. . . . The ancient Vedic religion seems not to recognize idolatry, yet the modern Brahmins, professed followers of Vedic doctrine, are among the greatest idolaters in the world.”

The cultus of Hopis and Zuñis is of about the same general character, and yet, I am told, with the exception of images of the War Gods, anthropomorphic idols are not as common with the latter as with the former. I presume there may be many similarities in the regard which the Hopi and Zuñi have for the Corn Maids, yet I find no account of idols of such personages in Cibola.

I have been struck, in comparison of the Zuñi ceremonials with those of Tusayan, with the relatively great importance in the former of the Priesthood of the Bow, and the insignificance of a like warrior society, the Kalektaka, among the latter. This difference in the power of this priesthood in the two pueblo areas accounts, I believe, for many differences in their ceremonials, and explains certain things otherwise incomprehensible.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of one or two warrior celebrations in winter, the Kalektaka are rather insignificant at Walpi; their chief is unobtrusive, and dreadful star-chamber accusations and punishments of supposed sorcery by this society are unknown.

Images of gods, so constant in Tusayan altar paraphernalia, are, I should judge, rare or unknown, certainly undescribed, among neighboring Navahoes; yet that fact, if such it be, could hardly be seriously urged to prove that the former are more idolatrous than the latter.

We cannot, in other words, broadly assert that the use of images in altar paraphernalia necessarily means a proneness to image-worship, or indicates anything more than a highly developed symbolism. This symbolism is powerful among peoples with or without images; in the former case probably greater facility in expression has given it prominence, but there is no attendant change in the attitude of the minds of the two peoples towards their supernatural conceptions.

#### TUSAYAN FIGURINES CALLED DOLLS.

Images of Katcinas are carved out of wood in three great Hopi ceremonials called Powamû, Palûlukofiti, and Niman. These are presented to little girls, and are used as dolls, but, like so many

<sup>1</sup> The absence of the packet of meal, and the presence of bow, arrows, and netted shield on the paho of this society, is in line with what might be expected.

religious objects which in the progress of evolution have become playthings, these graven images have a sacred meaning which survives in their place, time, and method of manufacture.

The name which is applied to these objects is *tihu*, or personification, and they are sometimes spoken of as prayer offerings. They are simulacra of gods, and were in olden times made as substitutional sacrifices to the gods, much the same as the dough images in the Nahuatl ritual. Even now small *tihus* may sometimes be found deposited in shrines, showing that the religious feeling which prompted their manufacture is not extinct. In order to show the character of the feast of little idols in Nahuatl ceremonials, I have gathered a few descriptions of them from early Spanish writings. The festival to which I refer is called *Tepeilhuitl*, and occurs directly after the celebration of the return of the gods or *Teotleco*. At Tusayan they are manufactured at both *Powamû* and *Palûlûkoñti*, the two ceremonials after the return of the gods. The general characters of the festival of the little idols are described by several Spanish authors, as Sahagun, Clavagero, and others. One of the least known of these descriptions is that by Serna, which I quote: "El-decimotercio, que llamaban *Tepeilhuitl*, empezaba á 3 de Octubre y luego al 4 hacian una fiesta á los más altos y eminentes montes: hacian en esta fiesta unas culebras de palo ó de raices, y labrábanles con su cabeza, y pintábanles: hacian tambien unos trozos de madera tan gruesos como la muñeca, largos, que llamaban *ecatotontin*, *airecillos*: a estos palos y á estas culebras vestian ó cubrian de masa de Tzoali, y vestíanlos a manera de montes, poníanles sus cabezas de la misma masa con rostros de personas en memoria de los que se habian ahogado, ó muerto, sin poderlos quemar, y otras muchas ceremonias." <sup>1</sup>

I offer the following free translation of the above: "The thirteenth month, which they call *Tepeilhuitl*, began on the 3d of October, and immediately on the 4th they hold a festival to the nearest and highest mountains: they made in this festival some snakes of sticks or roots, which they furnished with heads, and decorated with paints: they likewise made sections of wood as great as the wrist, and long, which they called *ecatotontin*, '*airecillos*.' They clothe or cover these sticks and these serpents (effigies) with dough made of Tzoali, and dress them in manner of mountains,<sup>2</sup> and put on them heads of the same dough with features of persons in memory of those who have drowned themselves or died without being burned, and perform many other ceremonies."

<sup>1</sup> Serna, *Manual de Ministros de Indios*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish text is obscure: Style of mountains; or possibly, muertos, dead, manner of the dead.



To this I will add the following mention of this ceremony from Tylor:<sup>1</sup> "At the yearly festival of the Water Gods and Mountain Gods, certain actual sacrifices of human victims took place in the temples. At the same time, in the houses of the people there was celebrated an unequivocal but harmless imitation of this bloody rite. They made paste images, adored them, and in due pretence of sacrifice cut them open at the breast, took out their hearts, cut off their heads, divided and devoured their limbs."

One of the causes of complaint which Hopi traditionists claim their ancestors had against the Spanish padres is that the priests condemned and forbade the manufacture of the *tihus* or dolls. The warmth with which this grievance is mentioned is significant, for it is reasonable to conclude that if these figurines had no deeper meaning than simple playthings for children, neither the Spanish fathers would have objected to their manufacture, nor the Hopi taken the prohibition so much to heart. Evidently the signification of these images was mutually understood to be a religious one, hence on the one side zeal to root out the custom of making them, and on the other tenacious adherence to ancient usages. The Spanish priests, fresh from Mexico, were no doubt familiar with the manufacture of similar images in the pagan rites of Nahuatl peoples, and, recognizing the same in Tusayan, tried to force the ancient Hopi to abandon it. In other words, it is probable that the *tihu* or doll was regarded as an idol, and perhaps was at that time used as such, but now, as so commonly happens in the history of religious paraphernalia, has degenerated to that stage in its decline when it has become a toy or plaything. It still retains certain characters which stamp it as a survival, as shown by its symbolism, and by ceremonials in which it is made. Possibly this decline in its dignity may have resulted from the influence of the padres; perhaps this was its condition when the Spanish priests came among the pueblos; but in some former stage it was a symbolic or substitutional sacrificial offering. In the hideous sacrifices practised by the warrior Aztecs, the sanguinary priest killed a human victim before the idol of the War God, and, tearing out the palpitating heart of the unfortunate, thrust it into the face of the idol. This offering was food for the god. The gentle, agricultural Hopi have the same idea in mind, and still feed their stone image of the War God with food, but in a way far different. There stands in one corner of the house of *Intiwa*, the *Katcina* chief, one of the mildest priests of *Walpi*, a stone idol of the War God, in the mouth of which he or his family at times place fragments of corn bread, or mutton stew, as food. The idea of feeding a stone image is the same in both instances, but it is

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 405.

differently carried out. In this widely spread custom of feeding images of gods we have one of the very numerous variants of sacrifice by a symbolic emblem which could be traced among the practices of widely different peoples of both continents; showing that the mind of man works in strictly parallel grooves in similar stages of culture, but environment determines to a large extent the details of the acts or the manifestations of expression.

Near several trails which lead from the plain up the precipitous sides of the East Mesa to the pueblos on its summit, the visitor may see small irregular piles of stones or fragments of firewood. These collections may be called shrines, and are dedicated to a supernatural being much dreaded by the Mokis. On returning from a day's labor in his fields, or from an excursion to distant mesas for firewood, the weary Indian, toiling up the trail, will often be observed to throw a small stone upon such a pile, or to add a stick of wood from the burden he bears. Or when departing from the pueblo a similar act is performed, accompanied by a few inaudible words as he passes the shrines.

This, I suppose, is one of the simplest forms of prayer and sacrifice; the latter, more after the nature of homage to the Earth God, and as an offering, can hardly be regarded as more than symbolic in nature, for it has no value in itself either to giver or receiver. Possibly, however, the stone thrown upon the pile is a substitute for something which had worth, of which it is no more than a simple symbol.

In the celebration of the making the new fire, an elaborate ceremonial which occurs among the Hopi Indians in November, we find a peculiar form of sacrifice. The details of this interesting festival have been described elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and it is to the nature of the offerings to the fire which I ask attention.

After the new fire has been kindled, with ceremony, in the kiva, and, fed with fuel, blazes into a flame, the chiefs of the different societies who participate in the rite drop into it, with a prayer, pine needles attached to strings, ostensibly as offerings to the God of Fire. Here no doubt we have a symbolic sacrifice; but to interpret what the pine needle represents, or why it should be chosen, is beyond my power.

Is it a parallel with the brazier or ladle of copal so constant in Aztec rites; or is it a substitution of the pine needle for the pitch of the pine-tree? Or rather is it the recurrence of the idea of burning incense to the god which occurs so often in primitive religions? I am inclined to interpret it by answering the last question in the affirmative, and find some support to the conclusion that the idea of

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Boston Soc. Nat. History.*

a sweet smell to gratify the god reappears in the Hopi ritual, from another form of burning fragrant herbs.

Passing over, for the time being, the act of smoking in the Hopi ceremonial system, let us consider a special form of it in the secret rites of the Antelopes, when the great rain-cloud pipe is smoked on the altar. In the course of that rite the Antelope chief, having loaded his pipe with prescribed herbs, blows great puffs of smoke on the sand picture, as elsewhere described. One or more of these herbs are very fragrant, and the rain-cloud smoke from them fills the room with a very sweet odor. If the idea of incense were not so widely spread among primitive religions, we might regard this as no more than a coincidence, and suppose that the herbs when burnt happened to be sweet smelling; but as it is so often cropping out in primitive rites, why call it exceptional or devoid of significance among the Hopi?

#### PRAYER-STICKS AS SACRIFICIAL OBJECTS.

By far the most constant offering made at times of prayer by the Hopi Indians is the sacred meal, which I interpret as a substitution form of sacrifice. Meal is the highly prized food which is bartered for other valuable objects in their trade one with another. If a sacrifice is primarily akin to a gift or symbol of homage, if early man approached his gods in much the same frame of mind as he did more powerful men, then it is quite comprehensible that an agriculturalist should make use of the products of his farm as an offering. By that natural law of substitution, everywhere illustrated in primitive worship, an offering of meal is reduced to its minimum; and while the name sacrifice becomes inappropriate, the idea remains represented by a symbol. Once reduced to a symbol, it takes on a new direction in development, and in many of its uses the sacrificial idea is wholly obliterated or obscured. Thus the object which was once a real offering representative of value becomes simply a prayer-bearer. The priest takes a pinch of sacred meal in his hand, holds it to his mouth, prays upon it, and sprinkles his idols or pictures of the gods addressed. Or he throws the meal to the sun, or in a hundred or less other modifications uses the meal with or without the accompanying prayer. The act of sprinkling the sacred meal becomes a prayer, figures made with meal have occult powers, and so on in a most intricate ramification known in detail only by the initiated. Special methods of its use call for special interpretations, but the fundamental idea from which they all sprung was sacrifice.

We have in the so-called *nakwakwoci*, or feathered string, a simple offering in which new elements are introduced, but, as before, the idea of sacrifice may probably be primitive in this as well.

No satisfactory interpretation of the prominent part which the feather plays in the paho<sup>1</sup> has yet been suggested, and as far as my queries have gone I could obtain little light from the Hopi priests on this point.

It has been suggested that the feather as used in prayer offerings is an example of substitution, which is so common in the religious rites of lower classes. If a substitution, that for which it is substituted would naturally be a bird. If, as may naturally be suspected, this substituted object has become simply a symbol, it would be quite within the bounds of reason to consider the thing symbolized as a bird.

There is apparent evidence that the prayer-stick is used as a peace-offering or symbol of homage between chiefs, which shows how close the feeling of worship or intercourse with supernaturals and the dealing of man with man are in the Hopi mind. When an embassy was sent to another tribe for aid, the prayer-stick was an essential offering from one chief to another. This is definitely stated in the legends of the invitation the Hopi sent to the Tanoan warriors, whose descendants now inhabit Hano. In ancient mortuary customs a prayer-stick was placed with the dead, for the soul to use on its return to the home of shades. When a cultus hero visited a god, he carried a propitiatory prayer-stick. Probably the same feeling prompted the Hopi mind in dealing with other men or with anthropomorphic gods. We call the latter worship; it is reverence, but hardly sufficiently differentiated to require a different word when directed to gods or men.

Judged in the light of what is known of other primitive religions, it appears that the interpretation of the paho as a sacrificial object is not strained, although in its present use it may have, in some instances, lost its original meaning.

It is closely connected with the prayer, and if not interpreted as an offering, either gift or symbol of homage, it seems difficult to refer it to any other element in primitive religion. It is, in fact, no new thought to interpret the prayer-stick as an offering or sacrifice, and as such it has been treated in my various publications on the Hopi ceremonials.

Although the character of the paho among the different pueblos is not known as well as I hope it may be by more extended studies,

<sup>1</sup> In none of the forms of paho which I have seen from Zuni are corn husk packets of sacred meal tied to sticks, and the same absence is noted in the Koresan pahos from Sia figured by Mrs. Stevenson. The pahos made by the Hano chiefs in the Sumykoli and other ceremonies are also destitute of packets of meal. Sumykoli is a foreign ceremony, and Hano is peopled by descendants of Tanoan parentage, whose pahos never have the meal packet.

we have information concerning prayer-sticks of Sia, as described by Mrs. Stevenson, of Zuñi, and of the Tanoans living at Hano in Tusayan. As far as these have been figured and described, we find that none of them have packets of sacred meal tied to them, as is almost universally the case in true Hopi pahos. If, therefore, as appears to be the case, the Tusayan prayer-stick is the only one which has the packet of meal tied to it, the theory that the pahos are sacrificial meal-offerings, which appears so evident in Hopi offerings, breaks down on comparative studies of the puëblo ritual, or requires bolstering with some new theoretical supposition.

In the light of an offering or sacrifice of maize may be viewed the acts which transpire in the fields when corn is roasted in great pits which are made in the ground for that purpose. When these pits are opened a priest takes one of the ears of roasted corn and holds it in turn to the gods of the cardinal points, as has been elsewhere described.

But we have this offering of an ear of corn in a more symbolic way. There are pahos upon which, in place of a packet of meal, a picture of an ear of corn is drawn. One of these is used in Naacnaiya, and is figured in my account of this ceremony. Here, evidently, we have an offering of the simulacra of corn in the form of a symbol, which no doubt accomplishes the same as a packet of meal in ordinary prayer-sticks.

Offerings of food take many different forms in Tusayan rites, one of the best known of which is that to the dead, placed in bowls on the graves of the deceased. So reticent are the Hopi in regard to mortuary customs, that I have been unable to obtain from them an intelligent reason for this practice; and if I had, I am not sure that it would be a correct one, for this custom is of world-wide distribution. We must look for the meaning of this mortuary act, not to one group of men who may have an explanation warped by their special temperament, but to a comparative study of all manifestations in their variations, which are many, and apparently profoundly different.

It is wholly consistent with the treatment of his gods by primitive man, as if they were more powerful human beings, that as an act of homage before a feast, the Hopi lays a little food aside, and later places it in a shrine or home of the gods. So in that great festival, the departure of the Katcinas, or ancestral deities, before the participants' feast, food is given to the dead — the "early dead," those who died long ago.

At the time when the clan sit down to their feast, when they are at work building a house for one of their number, no one eats before

the future owner of the house has taken portions of the various food to be consumed, and placed them in a niche in the unfinished wall. There are many other variations which might be quoted of priests offering fragments of food as symbols of a feast. The worshipper enjoys the feast, but the being who is worshipped is supposed to be satisfied with the symbol, which, if it has less substance to appease hunger, fulfils the idea of sacrifice in the mind of the one who offers it.

In order to indicate the character of a complicated form of prayer-sticks among the Hopi, I have chosen the so-called blue paho of the Antelope priests in the Snake Dance. These consist of two sticks of equal length, and are best known in the Walpi celebration, where they are painted green, with black points, and are tied together with strands of cotton string spun in the kivas. A small packet of corn meal, tied in a corn husk, is appended midway in the length, and a turkey tail-feather is tied to the opposite side. Two prescribed herbs are likewise tied to the paho.

In some of the other pueblos the paho made by the Antelope society in the Snake Dance, while similar in general appearance to that made at Walpi, has, unlike it, a facet with eyes and mouth painted upon it.

The paho of the Flute society is double, like that of the Antelope, but has a ferrule cut in both sticks about midway in their length. This double prayer-stick has likewise a facet on the end of one of the component sticks. The paho made in the summer solstitial sun-worship ceremony is double, with a facet cut on the end of one of the sticks which compose it.

The double snake-whip used at the Middle Mesa pueblos has a corn-husk packet of sacred meal appended to it, and has many points of resemblance to a double-stick paho, by which name it is sometimes called.

A number of different forms of single-stick pahos are made in Tusayan ceremonial. These differ in length, color, and other particulars. A single specimen of a paho in form of a cross was made by the Antelope priests in the Snake Dance of 1893, as elsewhere described.

The Snake pahos are black, the length of the forearm, and have corn-husk packets, herbs, and corn husks tied at the extremity. The cotton string which binds them is girt by four parallel black lines. Small twigs with feathers tied at intervals may be placed in this group.

#### CORN PAHO.

The prayer-sticks just described bear packets of prayer meal symbolic of a meal offering, but there are others in which an ear of

corn takes its place. In most of these a symbol or design representing an ear of corn serves the purpose. Such an offering I have called a corn paho, probably best illustrated in the paraphernalia of the Flute ceremony. Each of the girls personating the Corn Maidens in this rite carries in her hand a wooden slat continued into a terraced extension at one end, and with a handle at the other. Upon the flat surface of this object a symbol of an ear of corn is painted, and to the handle a packet of sacred meal is tied.

Somewhat like these Flute corn pahos are the slats adorned with highly conventionalized designs, and decorated with symbols of maize, borne by the women in the October ceremony called the Mamzrauti.

The so-called Kwakwantû, a warrior society, make in the New Fire ceremony a flat paho on which is drawn a figure of an ear of corn, as elsewhere described.

The belief that the true meanings of primitive rites and ceremonials are carefully guarded by the priesthoods is not wholly warranted by intimate studies. The performance of rites is the main thing; the explanation so subordinated, that in many, perhaps the majority of cases, the meaning has been lost. The priests give little attention and have little curiosity to know why certain acts are performed in ceremonial worship. They have certain priestly functions because their predecessors had before them, and rarely do they trouble themselves, *cognoscere rerum causas*. The ritual is the important, the myth the subordinate element. This is a condition of things paralleled elsewhere in primitive worship.

As the performance of rites is the main duty of the Tusayan priest, so it matters little what opinions he may entertain about the legends of cosmogony or theogony. Practically he regards it of so little importance that dogma plays no part in his worship. As pointed out by Professor Robertson Smith in his account of the religion of the Semites, "The myths connected with individual sanctuaries and ceremonies were merely part of the apparatus of the worship; they served to excite the fancy and sustain the interest of the worshipper; but he was often offered a choice of several accounts of the same thing, and, provided that he fulfilled the ritual with accuracy, no one cared what he believed about its origin. Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favor of the gods. What was obligatory was the exact performance of certain sacred rites prescribed by religious tradition."

While possibly the question whether ritual preceded myth or *vice versa* may not be satisfactorily answered, it is true that rites are held

in much higher esteem than belief in mythology among the Tusayan Indians. No great emphasis is laid among them on dogma; belief in mythological beings is not obligatory, but performance of rites is prescribed.<sup>1</sup> This is, I believe, what would be expected, if in its early stages the treatment of supernatural beings was wholly anthropomorphic. Man approached his gods as he would men under similar circumstances; he made compacts with them, asked their aid, and paid them homage precisely as he would if they were men.

Each pueblo, when discovered, was governed by a council of old men, and the office of governor of the village is probably a late evolution. Each chief of the council has his own sacerdotal rites bequeathed to him to perform. He recognizes the tutelar supernatural of his society, but a supreme deity exists no more in his religious than in his political system. There apparently never was a supreme chief over all the Tusayan villages, much less over all the pueblos. The different towns may have acted in union for a certain object, but they never gave up the control to one leader. Thus the cults of each phratry developed independently, and environment made the lines of their evolution parallel.

*J. Walter Fewkes.*

<sup>1</sup> Attention must, however, be called to the fact that I have studied the Tusayan cults mainly from the ceremonial side, and possibly, had my studies been more along the line of beliefs, other conclusions would have been formed.